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Edited by

Nemanja Radulović and Smiljana Đorđević Belić



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INSTITUTE FOR LITERATURE AND ARTS



Nemanja Radulović

University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philology

Smiljana Đorđević Belić

Institute for Literature and Arts, Belgrade

DISENCHANTMENT, RE-ENCHANTMENT AND FOLKLORE GENRES: INTRODUCTION

In the middle of World War I, in the year in which the USA joined the combat on the other continent and Russia was shaken by two revolutions, Max Weber held a lecture *Science as a Vocation* on November 7, 1917. This commensurably short text has affected the humanities and social sciences as much as Weber's other famous, substantial volumes. The theses presented in the lecture are more encompassing than the title suggests: it is an attempt at explaining the modern world. The core of this undertaking is the concept of *the disenchantment of the world*. Since Weber's postulates with regard to disenchantment were subject to various interpretations, as will be shown in the text to follow, the encyclopedic definition shall be provided in the beginning:

Disenchantment of the world (*Entzauberung der Welt*). This expression refers to a process through which people no longer explain the world and their cosmos with the help of magical forces, but instead rely on science and rational forms of thinking. Intellectuals have played a key role in the process of disenchantment. According to "Science as a Vocation," where the disenchantment of the world is discussed, "there are [today] no mysterious incalculable forces that come into play, but rather ... one can, in principle, master all things by calculation. This means that the world is disenchanted" ... In an enchanted world, explanations are given in the form of actions of gods and demons, and causality in the modern sense of the word does not exist. In a disenchanted world, on the other hand, the whole world has been "transformed into a causal mechanism." (Swedberg and Agevall 2005: 62–63)

Although appearing relatively late in Max Weber's scientific vocabulary (probably as late as 1913), the term *disenchantment* had turned into one

of his key terms since 1917. Apart from the mentioned lecture, he would incorporate it into his particularly significant segments of the re-worked text *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism* on which he worked during the winter of 1919–1920. Let us take a look at this concept in the context of Weber’s work, much wider than the one offered by the text *Science as a Vocation*.¹ Thus, modern man is deprived of the mysteriousness of the world which stemmed from unknown forces, such as magic. What comes to the fore is rationality presented by Max Weber in the form of a striking, dense image of an *iron cage*. Consequently, the world has become potentially completely knowable, transparent. In Weber’s example, we may be riding a tramway without knowing physics (the set of examples is easily extendable—we can drink antibiotics without knowing medicine, biology, and chemistry)—but, should we want that, we can learn about the mechanisms on which these phenomena rest.

The change which the disenchantment brought about is not only historical, in the sense of the external processes that may be located and that may form a genealogy, but also both subjective and epistemological. The aforementioned epistemological optimism is accompanied by axiological pessimism, since certain inherent values have been lost due to the disenchantment process (for the more in-depth analysis, see Aspren 2014: 2; Josephson-Storm 2017: 284–287), and modern science is an example of such losing of values (see Schroeder 1995).

Weber positioned disenchanting as one of the segments of the Western history: since the Antiquity, with Greek philosophy and Hebrew monotheism (which were antagonistic towards magical cosmos from their respective standpoints), to the Renaissance (which introduced the experimental method), to the Reformation (which opposed everything “pagan” and “idolatrous”). The final, and crucial point as it turns out, is the modern age, where bureaucratization, alongside science, is one of the most conspicuous consequences of rationalization. (India and China are the epitomes of an alternative possibility, taking another turn: the enchanted worldview has petrified them, thus making them inept for the kind of transformation similar to the Western modernity.)

The short overview of Weber’s basic ideas offered so far already shows how complex the disenchantment concept is. Furthermore, the complexity is accentuated by a wide variety of literature and discussions about almost

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¹ Synthetic overviews are offered in the references of this text which are, quite understandably, just a selection of the voluminous literature on this issue.

all of the disenchantment-related terms—i.e., the various interpretations of what Weber truly intended to say. Since he did not develop a consistent disenchantment theory and did not use the term so frequently (according to certain analyses, it appears only a few times in the entirety of his opus, Lehmann 2008: 73–74), Weber’s views of the process are interpreted diversely, especially having in mind the complexity of defining the key accompanying terms such as rationalization and magic, for example. A number of discussions revolves around the term itself—i.e., where Weber took it from or what he was inspired by in the conception of this notion (Schiller is most commonly mentioned as a possible source, but also the theologian and philosopher Balthasar Bekker (see Lehmann 2008: 75); however, it is more interesting to notice that Weber was inspired by Tolstoy’s culture criticism in his deliberation of the value system). The adequacy of translation to other languages (e.g., English) is related to that. What exactly does rationalization mean to Weber (since the term seems to have a number of meanings, cf. Aspren 2014; Schroeder 1995)?² Weber himself highlights, as it has been aforementioned, that religion—monotheism in the Antiquity, and in the Reformation after that—have contributed to disenchantment (thus setting the stage for its own implosion in the modern era). On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that Catholic and Orthodox folk Christianity have preserved a great number of enchanted elements. According to Charles Taylor, secularization and disenchantment are not the same:

Disenchantment is the dissolution of the “enchanted” world, the world of spirits and meaningful causal forces, of wood sprites and relics. Enchantment is essential to some forms of religion; but other forms – especially those of modern Reformed Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant – have been built on its partial or total denial. We cannot just equate the two. (2007: 553)

Disenchantment is also described as losing magic, or, more widely, losing the mysterious in the world; this definition is opposed to certain readings of the theses from Weber’s texts according to which magical behavior is seemingly interpreted as rational, and mystery stands for the insufficient control over the powers acting in the world rather than something secretive (Josephson-Storm 2017: 278–283).

The disenchantment concept was influential in a number of disciplines within the humanities: from Weber’s core field—sociology (Ernest Gellner,

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² Nicole Belmont (1973: 75) mentions that even the Romans distinguished *religio* and *superstitio*.

to single out just one), where it was connected to different aspects of the modernization process (rationalization, the rise of science and education, bureaucratization, secularization, and the like), to religion studies, anthropology, even philosophy (the Frankfurt School). Religion studies in the 20th century, particularly in the late 20th century, were under the great influence of the idea of the loss of religion (e.g., Peter Berger), or the emancipation from it (Marcel Gauchet). The thesis of *the decline of magic* by Keith Thomas (1991) was propelled by the disenchantment concept too. The rise of alternative, new religious and magical movements, which should seemingly refute the disenchantment thesis, has brought about the Weber-inspired analyses. Wouter J. Hanegraaff (1996) explains New Age as esotericism adapted to the disenchanted world image (that is the source of psychologization, evolutionism, and progressivism). New Age is not a mere survival in modern times, but its constituent part, just as modern times are not just disenchanted.

The term *disenchantment* is used both very widely and very loosely. For example, in the introduction of the book entitled *Le désenchantement du monde*, Marcel Gauchet (1985: i–ii) says that, unlike Weber who used *disenchantment* in the sense of “removing magic as a salvation technique,” the term should be used to signify “the fatigue of the rule of the invisible.” In the book of the opposite title *Re-enchantment of the West* (2004), Christopher Partridge also uses the concept freely comparing to the Weberian current in science.

Surely, Weber’s concept has inevitably been subject to criticism. It has been noted that Weber oversaw that Protestantism believed in magic, and banished witches accordingly (Barbalet 2018); he underestimated the capacity of religion to survive and adapt in the modern age, since one of its characteristics is innovative creativity too (Séguy 1986: 136). Taking the secularized world as the norm and not taking into account human potential to behave subversively with regard to the norms have been interpreted as shortcomings (according to Jenkins 2000: 12–14). Richard Jenkins notices that, “even within the most efficiently rationalized of bureaucracies, ‘irrational’ dimensions of social life—symbolism and myth, notions of fate or luck, sexuality, religious or other ideologies, ethnic sentiment, etc.—necessarily influence organizational behaviour” (ibid.: 14),³ and he goes on to speak about secular enchantment. Critical analyses open up a number of questions: was the enchanted world as homogenous and innocently devoid of doubt, or is it a projection of various modern topoi and culture criticism (ibid.: 15)?; can disenchantment be interpreted as the process which is still

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³ Eliade (1972: 24) recognized the millenarianism of ancient myths in Communism too.

ongoing (Josephson-Storm 2017: 298–301)—i.e., has the world ever been disenchanted (Jenkins 2000: 29)?

As it is known, even nowadays people go not only to the doctor but also to the healer and witch doctor—witches are being persecuted even today (cf. La Fontaine 2016). There exists a whole array of different and diverse tendencies: from individualization and the privatization of religion and, contrary to that, fundamentalism expansion, to turning towards the “alternatives,” to the apparent quasi-religious potential of ideologies in general. Confidence in science and optimistic belief in progress have as their opposite the undermining of scientific authority (medicine, economics, etc.) both at the individual and private level, but also at the level of various popular culture phenomena (through conspiracy theories, newslore forms, and the like, but also through ecologic movements agenda, for example). The most interesting paradox is that Weber himself was aware of that: he was familiar with the counter-cultural occult milieu of his time, very active at the time when *Science as a Vocation* lecture took place (Josephson-Storm 2017: 275–278; 287–289).

If the world Weber speaks of is the European world, western, or even narrower—Protestant, the disenchantment phenomenon is thus the product of modernization as much as westernization in other parts of the world. Can we speak of the “split” between the elites and “folk” in that sense in the examples from Asia, Africa, or South America? However, it is not necessarily only about the “folk” that followed its traditional practices unaware of modernization or partially touched by it. The research of the Indian followers of Sai Baba, stating they predominantly belong to the members of the middle and higher middle class, use *re-enchantment of the world* and *enchanted world* as the describing terms (Palmer 2005: 108). Certainly, the stand of the Western European elite towards the enchanted has not been univocal. Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park (1998) show that the relations of certain elite fractions with miracles had been nonlinear and cyclical, at least until the Enlightenment. It is precisely in the elite of the later periods too that existed and still exist the ones with an agenda who call for enchantment. Since the Romanticism, art has been estheticized and sacralized, it has received soteriological values, but not in the way in which it was characteristic of the Middle Ages—they come precisely from the autonomy which art won in the modern time. *Festspielhaus* in Bayreuth is the most impressive monument of such a program.

At another level, enchantment is not an exotic phenomenon—whether the exotic is positioned in the far ends of the world or in the layers of society which are regarded as being beyond the elite—they are part of everyday life. Let us recall the examples suffused with New Age: ways of eating, curing,

wellness, calls for positive thinking. These are all pieces of the world image which is built into the culture of the modern everyday life.

The conscience of these dichotomous tendencies has brought, on the one hand, to the revisionist reading of Weber, and on the other, to the emergence of the counter-term *re-enchantment*. This term is used both as a tool and as an open call with an agenda. Christopher Partridge (2004) shows that the occult re-enchantment is no survival, margin, obscure group, sociological deviation. On the contrary, pop culture and everyday life themselves, what is in the immediate surroundings, from TV series to health products, are permeated with the semi-conscious enchantment project—which this author terms *occulture*. What is shown in some of the previously mentioned studies (Jenkins 2000; Lehmann 2008; Asprem 2014; Josephson-Storm 2017) is that the modern era is far from a one-way process of disenchantment; there is a lot of data related to a number of central points of the Western modern times, both in science and the humanities which complicate the image. Modernity is, thus, evaluated as the era characterized by opposing, dichotomous currents.

Profiling itself as an extensive research field, re-enchantment studies make the terminological apparatus even more complex. The term *re-enchantment* is used for art, politics, philosophy (see Landy and Saler (eds.) 2009). It designates various alternative lifestyles, popular and consumerist culture elements, virtual reality aspects. Thus, Simon During (2002) analyzes the functioning of modern enchantment forms—*secular magic*, compatible with rationalism and commercial culture, the ones stemming from imagination, from the willing suspension of disbelief, characterized by ironical distance (illusionist performances, literary works and movies, photography, and the like; see also Saler 2004). George Ritzer (1999) formulates the term *disenchanted enchantment* as the theoretical conceptualization of the cathedrals of consumption (from churches and museums, to shopping malls, casinos, to electronic shopping malls) and consumer religion. It is not only the New Age disciples that refer to this term, but also, speaking of postmodernism, Zygmunt Bauman, for example. Therefore, it becomes apparent that the term re-enchantment is even more intricate and flexible than the one from which it stemmed.

All the mentioned discussions, including the calls with the enchantment agenda, undoubtedly indicate that, regardless of the level of “measurability” of enchantment and disenchantment, there exist the actors who see the world as disenchanted or enchanted. The real field in which these processes take place is not somewhere in the outside world, but in people’s ideas, in particular the ideas of the ones who are publicly active, acting in the intellectually influential fields—in science as a vocation.

Folkloristics has not been much affected by the aforementioned issues unlike sociology, history of religion and culture, anthropology, in which the discussions regarding disenchantment and re-enchantment, as it has been previously shown, are profiled into important research areas swarming with the dynamism of voices. It could be said to be somewhat unusual since the field of this scholarship is formed precisely around those topics that could be seen as Weberian too, given the fact that, by the nature of things, folkloristics has faced the issue of enchantment, disenchantment, and re-enchantment whether it wanted it or not.⁴ In the conceptualization of the collection of articles before the readers, we have been guided by the wish to investigate if the discussions regarding Weber's concept (and on the account of it) can contribute to the better understanding of folkloristic issues, but also the self-understanding of our own research tools. In other words, our idea is to test whether and to what extent the current folkloristic research can be articulated through the notions of disenchantment and re-enchantment. The undertaking we are about to start is guided by the expectation that by doing so, an innovative aspect, a different (perhaps more stimulative) angle of the problem viewing, a new tool, concept is added to the research. The awareness of the term polyvalency is no obstacle—on the contrary, we see it as a challenge.

Such a positioning of folkloristics in the field of social sciences and humanities is certainly not unusual. It is a field which has been, if not truly interdisciplinary (to avoid the vogueish term), then at least placed in the field of multiple disciplines intersection from the very beginning. As a matter of fact, folkloristics permanently exists under the auspices of two disciplines, stepping out of them to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the predominant theoretical and methodological paradigms in certain historical eras, and/or the concrete concepts of researchers. From Herder and brothers Grimm, folkloristics can be said to be born out of the spirit of philology, to paraphrase Nietzsche's famous title. That was one of its poles. The other one is ethnological. Regardless of whether it is seen as a separate discipline or a part of some other (history of literature, ethnology), folkloristics has seesawed from one side to the other in the course of its two-century history. Needless to remind of the influence which linguistics, communication theory, anthropology, to name just a few, exerted on the forming of folkloristic theories in the 20th century. Thus, the focus

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⁴ For the history of contact between folkloristics and sociology in the earlier times, see Thompson 1980.

of this collection is the issue on which, on the one hand, ethnology and anthropology, religion studies, sociology intensively work, and, on the other, folkloristics in the narrower sense—through studying genres in which, we believe, the aspects of disenchantment and re-enchantment are crystalized in a formulative, poetically fixed form.

The folkloristic angle opens up a few very wide problem areas. Firstly, the nature and transformations of folklore, and the dynamics of the genre system. Secondly, the specificities of the poetics of concrete genres and their pragmatic aspects. Finally, the influence of social and cognitive phenomena which disenchantment and re-enchantment bring about on the redefining of the matter and scope of research, and theoretical and methodological paradigms of folkloristics as an academic discipline.

It is impossible to oversee that the most important points of Weber's genealogy of disenchantment are also equally important for the history of European folklore. The great disruption in the nature of folklore is the consequence, primarily, of Christianization, when old beliefs either disappear or become Christianized (in the environments and societies that were encompassed by the Protestant reformation that disruption was repeated, albeit on a smaller scale). The second big change is connected to the modern age that is marked by the disappearance of folklore which is regarded as "traditional," but also the projects of "preserving" and canonization (national, among others).

Modern times have also introduced the disintegration and transformation of traditional cultures, which consequently reflected on folklore functioning in those cultures too. The genre system reduction is reflected in the loss of the so-called "classical" genres, such as fairy tale or traditional oral epic, in the disappearance of genres most closely related to traditional rituals, or at least their dislocation to the mere rims of the genre system in correlation with the marginalization of the position of traditional rituals and customs. The reduction is followed by the fragmentation processes (survival in very small groups), the change of carriers (the ritual text transformation into children's folklore), or the crossing over from the domain of active usage to the passive knowledge sphere. How does this view of traditional folklore look through the prism of the disenchantment concept and its position in the culture history?

From the very beginning, folkloristics dealt with world which can be described as enchanted. Certainly, it is known today that, to a great extent, such a perspective was permeated with the exoticization of traditional

cultures, rural areas. There was such exoticization which was only temporal. Legends, for example, are traditionally defined by being believed in. If they are defined in such a way, what are they if not an enchanted world? Some other genres, such as verbal charms and ritual songs, can be said to *create* that enchanted world on their own. Let us recall a few verbal charms definitions stating that it is precisely through these texts that the other, desired reality is constituted (Todorova-Pirgova 2003: 12); furthermore, they are characterized by the possibility to function, in a way, as the bridge between the two worlds, since verbal charms are also “traditional verbal forms intended by their effect on supernature to bring about change in the world in which we live” (Roper 2003: 8). However, is there disenchantment in ancient times, in the golden age of folklore considered to be traditional? What to do with the difference between *Märchen* and *Sage*, which is the foundation of the genre division, if *Märchen* are more “poetical” (Grimm) and they are not believed in? What is the supernatural fairy-tale world like in that case? According to Jan de Vries (1967: 171), it is devoid of God or gods (*entgötterten Welt*—the name itself sounds Weberian!), but not senseless—human existence is not reflected against the background of a numinous world but equally in itself. Therefore, fairy tale is described genre-wise as a secularized myth (ibid: 173), marked by the passivity of the mythical (Ranke 1958: 655), the latent presence of myth (Belmont 1999: 212). The differences in the interpretation of this genre become great when the question of symbols and sense is touched upon: Bengt Holbek goes so far as to transfer fairy tales into the real world, and, while debating with him, Francisco Vaz da Silva (2002: 27–28) warns that it is the symbolics that offers “glimpses” into the cyclical worldview. On the other hand, Max Lüthi (1943: 112–113) in his very first work from the 40s warned that fairy tale was not a degenerated or undeveloped myth, but that fairy tale, legend, and myth were separate genres with their respective rules—i.e., the disenchantment (certainly, Lüthi himself did not use this term) should not be regarded as a historical process (religious, anthropological, sociological), but rather as a founding poetical genre characteristic, which also implies the synchronic comparison of genre traits instead of diachronic genealogical trees. The poetics of legend propels discussions too (i.e., the relation with the world it rests on). Carl von Sydow (1969: 69) says that believing in the legend is often merely semi-believing, it cannot serve as the demarcation line for the differentiation of *Märchen* and *Sage*; Lauri Honko (1969: 297) notices that the memorate turns into *Sage*, which may be the fabulate, but also an entertaining legend (*Unterhaltungssage*). Thus, since believing as a distinctive feature has been problematized on a number of occasions, Linda Dégh (2001) suggests

speaking of the “veracity negotiation” rather than believing. The proposed formulation is illustrative of the dispersion of attitudes of the narrators and audience in connection with what is perceived as beyond rational. Can the formulae of expressing doubt and distance in legend be seen as an analogon of disenchantment, a proto-disenchantment of sorts, a shadow in the golden age? Similarly—is parody the destruction of genre or should it be understood in the light of Bakhtinian utopian conception also as the process resting on life-bearing principle, as reformation?

In some critical reviews of disenchantment discourse development (culturological, as a matter of fact, not folkloristic), it has been noticed that the enchanted world has long been perceived as something residual, subordinated to rational, progressive, and principally secular modernity postulates. The enchanted realm does not disappear, but it becomes marginalized, and it is quite often connected to the social groups that are seen as inferior from the Western elite culture perspective: “primitive nations,” children, women, lower social strata (Saler 2006: 695–698). Should we start thinking again about the position of this branch of folklore studies that have traditional genres in their focus (from the 19th century until today), it is impossible not to wonder whether folkloristics is seen as a scholarship dealing with survivals (it is the thesis that has shaped this discipline for a long time, regardless of how survivals are evaluated). Do we not fall into the same trap, inevitably nostalgically intoned, of the story about loss, analogous to the similar tones that can be recognized in the disenchantment discourse (which is prompted to a certain extent by the connotations of the English translation of this term, as Jason Crawford (2000) deems)? Does the indication of the traditional folklore vitality destroy the disenchantment thesis or that folklore should be observed as the integral part of the bimodal modernity concept in which enchantment and disenchantment function combined?

A number of traditional genres “has survived” in recognizable forms despite the changes, with the ability to incorporate new, current content. Those are primarily the genres that do not originally rely on supernatural elements (e.g., proverbs and related paremiological forms, anecdote, and the like), but also the ones that suffer certain structural and semantical changes in the context of the disenchanted world precisely because they rest on such elements. If re-enchantment is regarded as an existing process—which folkloristics has confirmed to exist unrelated to these terms—the question of not only its relation towards folklore genres but also the relation between disenchantment and enchantment emerges. It is seen in folklore in the

relation of old and new, the function and function carrier. Should the changes which genres undergo be seen as chipping or as a poetical transformation—a creative response in the light of the disenchantment thesis? Transformations may be deep and include the world image itself, which André Jolles (1930) called spiritual preoccupation. Surface changes would refer to the changes in the naming of actors who retain certain functions and scopes (e.g., Jolles saw sports reports as a continuation of legends).

Demonological legend offers, for example, an illustration of some of the changes. Namely, apart from the reduction of the demonological system and quite frequent merging of the functions of demons (Levkievskaja 1999), a more prominent presence of debates regarding veracity (dialogical, or introduced by the dialogizing of monological statements) is noticed in modern framework. We have singled out a few sentences from a fieldwork conversation. The words of our interlocutor offer a dense, picturesque illustration of one of the possibilities of experiencing the relation of the enchanted and disenchanted, modern, technologized world: *It was earlier. That magic, devils, vampires, I don't know what. My grandmother told me that, and some of that, I am telling you, I have experienced myself, although you know that I haven't, I don't want to lie to you now ... It is very rare now. Modern technologies, power mains, mobile networks obstruct those forces ...*

“The new life” of classical genres is marked with new types of direct interactions established in the process of intertwining with the new folklore forms. For example, New Age elements are registered in the narratives about miraculous healings and encounters with the supernatural (Dégh 1996: 44; Valk 2010: 865). Similar interferences are noticed in some modern forms of healing practices outside the conventional biomedicine. Although traditional folk medicine and various alternative approaches to healing are the offspring of different traditions and vary according to the ways they conceptualize illness, it is possible to encounter both traditional folk practices and those from post—New Age and esoteric framework in the healing repertoire of the same person. Such, hybrid, repertoires can include individual ways of incorporating different teachings in the system of personal tradition-grounded representations (Kis-Halas 2012). Traditional demonology and magic are definitely living phenomena, the vitality quality incorporates the potential for the intertwining and fusion with a number of relatively recent phenomena, and functioning in the altered, new, modern contexts (Pócs (ed.) 2019a; 2019b; Roper, Jonathan (ed.) 2004; 2008). Not only do the traditional legends continue to live in the modern world too (Dégh 1994: 29) but also the “legends conceived in our technological age can be the vehicles of new ideas” (Dégh 1979: 60).

The redefining of the folklore genre system has brought about the theoretical conception of genres that are not new, but that had existed outside the folkloristic interest until the last thirty years. The research of NDE narratives (rus. *obmiranie*), for example, started its life in Russian folkloristics in the 1980s only to grow into a separate extensive research field in the present moment. Some of the analyses of such narrations are especially illustrative for the understanding of the processes to be dealt with here. It has been noticed, for example, that the modern Moscow NDE narratives differ from the traditional ones featuring the same topic precisely because of the influence of the 20th-century conceptions, such as the popular book by Raymond Moody (Levkievskaja 1997: 810), and it has also been shown that such narrations can be incorporated in the New Age content (Mencej 2019). Dream narratives have relatively recently appeared on the folkloristic horizon (Kaviola-Bregenhøj 1993), and they were the tool Murray Wax (2004) used to present the world of a closed traditional community opposing it to the modern, rational, routinized ones, explicitly referring to Weber's disenchantment concept.

Genre interactions are sometimes seen as two-way transformations. Urban legends are a good example. What could be referred to as world disenchantment was described as rationalization in urban legends studying—the Weberian tone can be recognized quite easily, although there are no references to Weber (Simpson 1981). The famous legend about a vanishing hitchhiker seemed like a significant exception. It is not only the supernatural beings and plots that are lost, which could be described as anthropomorphizing, but also the motivation regarding religion and religious context. Legends of the ritual murder from the pre-modern times become the narratives of kidnapping and mutilation in a shopping mall, clothes shops, bodily organs theft, and the like. Still, the so-called “Satanic panic” of the 1980s and 1990s (in the USA and afterwards elsewhere), which included the topic of ritual murder, is an example of the real ritual context return. As if by the re-enchantment formula, the world has become permeated with the dark, unknown force of the Satanist web. Should the gaze be turned to the other end of the timeline, disenchantment can be encountered as early as the Antiquity, in the example of the murder ascribed to the participants of the Catilinarian conspiracy, as reported by Sallust and Dio Cassius: although it looks like a ritual murder from the previous examples, the culprits are political offenders, not cult members (Elliss 1983).

Regardless of whether those are the changes, transformations, or the parallel existence of different folkloric paradigms and genre systems, their

correlations are numerous, irrespective of whether the noticed similarities are interpreted on the genetical or typological level genre-wise.

Narrative types such as autobiographical, life history, family story, and the like seem to be brought to the folkloristic horizon by the disenchanting reality orientation in particular (or the layer that is perceived as disenchanting). Recognizable matrices, culturally defined codes and patterns are registered quite often in such narrations. An illustrative example is provided by the view of oral personal narratives offered by Sandra Dolby Stahl (1989: 15), who highlights that the connection with the traditional is emphasized through beliefs, ideas, and the concepts of the narrator. As Gillian Bennett says, “through an examination of personal experience story we can discover what aspects of tradition have remained constant and still shape people’s daily expectations and perceptions” (1985: 92).

The mentioned Richard Jenkins’s (2000) reminder that re-enchantment is connected to the symbolical potential of political mythologies, and the quasi-religious potential of ideologies of which Hartmut Lehmann (2008) speaks, could shed more light on the deliberation of the role of folkloric elements in the processes of such forms of re-enchantment. Political re-enchantment is known to rely on various forms of folkloric narratives (about leaders, important political events, social phenomena, and the like) (see, for example, Krikmann 2009); however, those narratives could have been subversive, participating, in the Weberian language, in the process of disenchantment of the re-enchanting or in the rejection of the acceptance of such a re-enchanting world. Having a remarkable transformation potential in the conditions of a political regime change, they have become one of the re-traditionalization elements. Ülo Valk’s (2012: 181) observation about the return of legend in the post-Communist period that are, however, permeated with the New Age elements in the new circumstances is interesting in this context.

Although disenchantment should not be equated with secularization, as it has been previously explained, it is very difficult to disentangle them completely in modern circumstances, especially having in mind that, for example, the trend of returning to religiousness is connected to re-traditionalization too (in particular in the post-Communist societies; cf. for example Borowik et al. (eds.) 2004; Benovska-Säbkova 2013) within the framework of processes that can be interpreted also as re-enchantment. Turning to religiousness can be noticed as a global tendency, and various modern experiences have contributed to its development: from the (re)

establishment and (re)defining of political boundaries to the positive globalization and multiculturalism tendencies on the one hand, and nationalism and turning to the local on the other. The question of the secularized world foundation basis in general is asked in the similar vein (Berger 1999). The secularization processes include, apart from the return to major religions, those other forms that could be described as the forms of vernacular religiousness (Primiano 1995). Folkloristic research inspired by this concept has once again indicated that the intertwining of disenchantment and enchantment tendencies are the characteristics of modern culture at the vernacular level (Bowman and Valk (eds.) 2012).

The problems of disenchantment and re-enchantment refer also to the phenomena from the folklorism domain. For example, different projects using folklore narratives (belief narratives, oral history elements, and the like), recognizable characters and symbols (vampires, witches, local demons, heroes, and the like) as part of tourist appeal can be regarded from this perspective. They are the crossroads of commercial aspects, identity politics, but the potential of nostalgia and imagination is also counted on, which is close to the mentioned Ritzer's (1999) *disenchanted enchantment* concept.

Finally, the folkloristic conceptualizations themselves can be understood in the context of world disenchantment. What is the Romantic search for pure folk poetry if not the search for what has not been altered by the Enlightenment and modernization? In the story entitled *Little Zaches called Cinnabar* by E. T. A. Hoffmann, the duke of a small dukedom decides to introduce the Enlightenment. One of his first measures is the banishment of fairies. In a parodic, fantastic way, Hoffmann shows the essence of the Romantic perception of disruption. The search for pure and pristine is not only reaching out for the spirit of people but also for the vital, organic principle, as well as the original discovery—an anti-Enlightenment analogon of disenchantment opposition, re-enchantment *avant la lettre*. What they formed theoretically like Herder and brothers Grimm, the others conduct in mystifications (Herder was not only propelled by Homer but also by the Ossianic forgery). Mystifications have followed the history of folkloristics from its very beginning, and some of them have emerged with the wish to fight disenchantment or, even more peculiarly, they have received such a role subsequently in the reception. That makes these texts valuable as the examples of the enchantment agenda.

Devolutionary theory that marked folkloristics, as Alan Dundes (2007) shows, can be better understood if it is noticed that the idea of disenchantment implicitly existed in a number of concepts. The theses of the evolution of epic and fairy tale from myth or ritual by demythologization and

deritualization (the 19th-century mythological school, Vladimir Propp, Lord Raglan, Jan de Vries, Mircea Eliade, Georges Dumézil, Yeleazar Meletinsky, Vyacheslav Ivanov, and Vladimir Toporov) represent in a way an analogon of the disenchantment thesis. Certainly, it is not the direct influence of Weber, but the movements and exchanges of ideas within the humanities and social sciences, the concepts that become the commonplace of a culture. Fascination with everything ancient, archaic, mythical, what is perceived (or created) as ridden with the primordial strength is present in strivings for the reconstruction of the lost myth (from Jacob Grimm to modern neo-mythologists). Jungians' search for the symbol strength in fairy tales, the contact with the life source re-discovers the faith in the symbol power that can be interpreted also as a re-enchantment variant.

If the beginnings of the development of folkloristics as a scholarship can be also seen as the search for the past, enchanted, lost world, or as an attempt at its re-constitution through the search for authentic, collective, common in the light of disenchantment concept, can the subsequent folklore conceptualizations (like the element of the culture of small groups, communication, etc.) be seen as a statement of the folkloristics of the disenchanted world or the folkloristics that came to terms with the disenchanted? Or is it the change of perspective that is sufficient to include the diverse cultural expressions of the world seen as bimodal in the folkloristic horizon? The problem of relations between disenchantment and re-enchantment and the reconstitution of folkloristics itself as a scientific discipline is connected to the questions of terminological distinctions resting on the parameters related to the new communication channels and folklore dissemination (via writing, audio-technical means, electronic media, the Internet)—traditional folklore, urban folklore, Internet folklore, and the like.

Therefore, the disenchantment and re-enchantment processes put before the folkloristic scholarship a number of challenges, being one of the factors that have profiled the permanent questioning of its own boundaries into an important feature of this field. The redefining of the research field and the folklore concepts themselves, as well as theoretical and terminological paradigms, apart from the mentioned "discovery of the new genres" (which can be seen as a fortunate necessity), has enabled the possibility to shed some new and different light on traditional genres through these concepts. On the other hand, they are significant for the opposing tendencies that are recognized as the neo-Romantically intoned concepts in which the folkloric tradition is idealized to a certain extent, and to which could belong the voices that warn of the "death of folklore." Disenchantment, re-enchantment,

and the cultural phenomena related to them obviously have multiple and multidirectional implications both for folklore and its study. The modern culture folklore itself has necessarily led folkloristics to the redefinition of its own theoretical and methodological premises and terminological apparatus equally as folkloristics has shaped that folklore (or at least its perception) through the conceptualizations it has offered.

The first segment of this collection gathers the studies dealing with traditional folklore, or the key terms that we are dealing with here, describing the enchanted world, the one which has not been marred by the corrosion of the disenchantment process. Francisco Vaz da Silva observes the fairy tale, the genre that folkloristics used for a long time to forge itself, and his starting point is precisely that magic is the core of this genre. Through further allomotif analysis, he proffers the key for the reading of symbols through the female lifecycle corresponding with the cosmic one, thus hinging on a long line of symbolic fairy-tale interpretations. Marianthi Kaplanoglou scrutinizes the processes from two angles, external and internal: she depicts the Greek Enlightenment members' reaction to folk fairy tales, and how modern narrators tackle the opposing tendencies, trying to strike the balance between the realistic and preserving the utopian, magical world. Romina Werth discovers the deeper layers stemming from the enchanted fairy-tale world, which undergo the process of realistic stylization and a certain form of disenchantment accordingly in the genre of ancient Islandic saga, under the seemingly historical motifs. Through the history of shaping the ethnographic collection of the SASA Archive, Marina Mladenović Mitrović shows how a scientific elite created the idea of folklore and traditional culture through the concepts similar to disenchantment.

The next thematic segment is directed at the modern life of the genres narrating about the enchanted world. Suzana Marjanić investigates the different possible approaches (totemistic, psychoanalytic, eco-feminist) in the Croatian variants of animal groom and bride, and simultaneously shows how the mythical merging of human and animalistic code returns in the cyborg narratives. Lidija Delić and Danijela Mitrović follow the miracle and miraculous healing concept in the metamorphoses of modern commercial, the Internet, media, discovering the loss of the otherworldly and the commercialization as the principal characteristic setting the new and the traditional narratives apart. Maria Palleiro deliberates several traditional motifs of the Argentinian oral prose in modern storytelling, regarding parody as a form of disenchantment. On the other hand, the same motifs in advertisements pinpoint the processes of re-enchantment. Smiljana Đorđević

Belić singles out multiple possibilities of the dream understanding from the modern scholarship angle—as a neurophysiological process or psychological manifestation; however, she also shows the liveliness of mystical and religious dream world experience on the fieldwork material.

The final segment of the collection is devoted to the examination of how folklore genres have faced the disenchantment processes, and the counter-process of re-enchantment comes to the fore. Eymeric Manzinali shows a destructive worldview formed in the urban legends connected to the community of video-game players, and simultaneously a group of motifs related to the supernatural which enchants that peculiar world. Meret Fehlmann singles out Phil Rickman's book series about the exorcist Merrily Watkins from the popular culture as an example of folk horror in which appears the return of the enchanted world, against the background of modern England and changes in the Anglican Church. The study by Elene Gogiashvili is also turned towards the popular culture in the analysis of soap operas under whose plot twists she notices the schemes of the enchanted fairy-tale world. Nemanja Radulović takes the 20th-century mystification *The Book of Veles*—which has turned into the sacred book of Slavic Neo-Paganism in the subsequent reception—as a re-enchantment example.

The studies collected in this book cover, of course, only a segment of the variety of problem areas connected to the disenchantment and re-enchantment processes in folklore. Simultaneously, the diversity of the encompassed topics shows yet again the polyvalent nature of the terms, while the interpretations indicate the potential of including the disenchantment and re-enchantment concepts within the scope of folkloristics. We believe that the folklore material, folkloristic analyses and conclusions could, in the perspective, be relevant also outside the framework of this discipline and contribute to finding the answers to a number of questions: is there a difference between the Western Protestant world about which, it seems, Weber speaks, and the Catholic world of the European South and South America, as well as the world of the Orthodox East and the Balkans?; what is happening with the societies that walked from the “long 19th century” into the sudden modernization processes dictated by the elites in which Communism conducted planned and sped-up disenchantment from the top in the late 20th century?; what is happening with the spaces outside Europe? Are there also the variations of disenchantment or is the disenchantment process itself inevitably Eurocentric? By answering these questions, folkloristics would respond to other disciplines for their incentives and concepts which it has acquired from them.

Translated by Danijela Mitrović

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